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THE INDIANS OF WASHINGTON HEIGHTS

BY

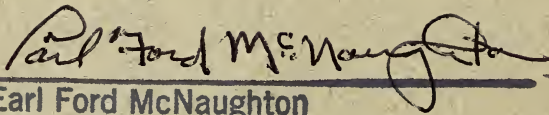
REGINALD PELHAM BOLTON.

[Reprinted from the Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Volume III.]

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A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Earl Ford McNaughton". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looping "E" and "M". It is positioned above a horizontal line.

Earl Ford McNaughton

THE INDIANS OF WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.

BY

REGINALD PELHAM BOLTON.

INTRODUCTION.

The earliest history of the City of New York is especially associated with the northern portion of the Island of Manhattan, and it is a remarkable fact that the long-retarded development of the locality has preserved to this late date many of the actual evidences of aboriginal life, of which, in the lower and middle part of the island, all traces were long since swept away. It is therefore, not only with a particular degree of definiteness, but with the peculiar interest attaching to many visible remains of the past, that the history of Washington Heights is fraught. Three hundred years have elapsed since that period when, prior to the advent of Henry Hudson, Manhattan was the undisturbed domain of the Red man. The rugged heights from Manhattanville to Spuyten Duyvil, which bore the native name of "Penadnic," or perhaps more properly, "Pen-atn-ik," "the sloping mountain," whose densely wooded sides formed a refuge for innumerable wild beasts and birds, were traversed by the natives on a trail, which, following the line of least resistance, mounted from Harlem, on the present general course of Avenue Saint Nicholas, to 168th Street, and thence, as Broadway now runs, to Dyckman Street. At this point, it is most probable that the trail divided, leading in several directions to the residential localities or camp-sites of the natives around the Inwood valley, two of which paths probably extended to the Spuyten Duyvil Creek, at points available for crossing to the mainland. Of these, one was a shallow place long thereafter known as "The Wading Place," close to the present Kingsbridge, at that portion of the creek which was known to the natives as Pa-pir-i-nemin, "the place where the stream is shut," a term which was applied to the water way, as well as to the abutting lands on Marble Hill, and at Kingsbridge.

Another, and perhaps a more important path, led to that secluded and still undisturbed dell below the east side of the end of Inwood Hill, which is now known locally, as the "Cold Spring Hollow," where, among overhanging masses of rocks detached from the lofty cliff, a secure refuge was afforded from winter's storms and from hostile observation, a spot known to the Red Man as, Sho-ra-kap-kok, or "the sitting-down place." This has been rendered, "a portage," and may well have been so, since it was in direct line between the Harlem and the Hudson River. The marshy bed through

which the creek then wound (and in part still winds) its devious way, was shallow enough near the spring to permit communication with the mainland at Spuyten Duyvil Hill, on the crest of which was a large native village, strongly protected by a girdle of palisades and known as "a small water-place," or Nip-nich-sen.

The native occupants of this part of the Island of Manhattan were members of a local band, known as Weck-quas-keeks or Wick-quas-keeks. Their speech was Algonkian, their group Mohican, their tribe, Wapanachi, their sub-division, Siwanoy, and they and their neighbors, the Reck-ga-wa-wances, divided the nomadic occupation of lower Westchester County and of the Upper part of Manhattan Island.

The term Manhattans, it may be noted, was merely indicative of those Indians from whom the name was learned, and to whom it was applied, being the men encountered upon Man-ah-atn, "the island of hills."

The Reck-ga-wa-wances, whose chief in 1639 was Rechewack, seem to have made their headquarters at Ran-ach-quah, a considerable village on the Acquehung, or Bronx River, and at a fishing headquarters, of which they made great use in certain seasons, at Rech-a-wan-is or Montagne's Point, on the shore of the Bay of Hell Gate, near 110th Street, and also at another site at 121st Street and Pleasant Avenue, in the same locality.

The Wick-quas-keeks' chief village was Nip-nich-sen, the defensible and palisaded position on the summit of Spuyten Duyvil Hill, which was located where the public school building now stands; but recent discoveries indicate that a large part of the band made their home, and their resort for oystering, fishing and ceremonial observances, in the sheltered valley of the Dyckman tract, now generally known by its modern title of Inwood.

This favored valley, affording several very desirable positions for native residence, bore among them the general title of its tribal occupants, Wick-quas-keek, or, as the name became corrupted in colonial times, Wickers-creek. Situated between the noble Mai-kan-e-tuk, or Hudson, the great "river of ebb and flow," on the west, and placid Muscoota, or Harlem, on the east, and lying in a basin surrounded by the Pen-atn-ik Hills to the south and west, the Nip-nich-sen and Papirinemin Hills on the north, and the range of Kes-kes-kick, or Fordham Heights, to the east, no more ideal place could well be found for native occupancy. It is not therefore surprising, that at a number of points in and around this valley, the remains of Indian occupation have been, and at this date are still numerous, and that it appears to have been inhabited by quite a considerable population, and for a great length of time.

As in later years of military strife, the commanding heights of Fort George Hill overlooked the entire scene, and afforded a wide range of vision

in all directions. Native objects taken from the soil in the area between 191st and 196th streets, and Amsterdam and Eleventh (or St. Nicholas) Avenue, indicate its use as a place of residence and probably of observation while a large crevice in the rocks on Fort George Avenue, may have afforded a shelter for an outlook. Across the vale to the west, at 181st Street, was a large clearing in the woods, on which the natives raised maize to such an extent, that it was known to the early settlers as the "Great Maize Land," or Indian Field, and on Jeffrey's Hook, now known as Fort Washington Point, deposits of shells, in which fragments of native pottery have been found, attest the use of this bold promontory as a place of occupation.

The little brook, rising in the high ground at 180th Street just west of Fort Washington Avenue, made its way down the present line of Bennett Avenue, to 194th Street, and crossing the trail at that point, entered the marshy lowland on its way to that deep indentation of the Harlem below Fort George Hill, the Dutch Half-kill, now known as Sherman's Creek, into which another stream entered, rising in the neighborhood of Seaman Avenue.

Where the brook and trail crossed at 194th Street and Broadway a favorable sloping bank still used for truck farming, was utilized as a camp-site by natives, and perhaps the massive overhanging rocks below Fort Tryon between 194th and 198th Street on the west side of Broadway, may have afforded them some shelter in winter.

Along the east side on Inwood Hill, from Academy Street to the Creek, numerous remains indicate a considerable occupation, easily traced at present along the recently-opened line of Seaman Avenue. Between Academy and Hawthorne Streets, many evidences of the work of native artificers in the manufacture and repair of spear and arrow-heads point to long continued residence. In the field, still farmed upon the estate of Mr. William B. Isham, at Seaman and Isham Avenues, a planting ground was evidently cultivated, the native tools therein found, the rich soil and favored location combining to indicate its use.

In the middle space of the valley, in full sight of the surrounding heights, and of the Nipnichsen village, the tribal ceremonies were probably held, for at 211-213 Streets, just west of 10th Avenue, pits containing oyster shells, packed over and around the remains of a dog, and accompanied by broken pottery, suggest the observance of the long-surviving aboriginal ceremony of the White Dog feast and burial.

Along the bank of the Spuyten Duyvil Creek, now largely wiped out by the ship canal, were, and in some places are still, certain shell deposits, and along the west bank of the Harlem, at 219th, 213th, 210th and 202nd Streets various objects of interest attest the one-time presence of the Indians. Another such favorite spot for the fisherman of the tribe, as it was long after

for his colonial successors, was the "Little Sand Bay" at Tubby Hook, just south of Dyckman Street, on the east side of the Hudson River Railroad, where, amid the still existent remains of primeval occupation, and surrounded by the same wild rocks that sheltered their rude huts of bark, the interested visitor may stand to-day and view the same noble scene of flowing river and palisaded background. It is, however, at Shora-kap-kok, among the romantic tangle of wildwood and precipice, through which a woodland foot-path winds towards the "Spouting Spring," that the most extensive shell deposits may be found, massive heaps covered by the acres of brushwood, out of which, hard by the spring, a magnificent tulip tree has reared its lofty form, the largest and perhaps the oldest tree in the upper part of the island. Here too, the interested investigator will find the actual rock-shelters under the cliff, from which were taken by Mr. Alexander Chenoweth, in 1895, successive layers of aboriginal pottery and implements, and remains of food which are now in the Museum.

Here, in the solitude of wild nature, it will take but little efforts of the imagination to bring before the mind the scene, when the bustling horde of Wick-quas-keeks swarmed about the rocks, through the woods, and along the bank of the creek, the men hauling from their log canoes, "napsia" baskets filled with oysters, opening and drying their succulent contents for the purpose of food or trade; the squaws mending grass nets and fishing lines, filling the cooking pots with red-hot stones from the wood fires, the smoke of which blackened and the heat of which split the sides of the rocks beneath which they were kindled; the children bearing water from the spring, playing games of skill with knuckle bones, or shooting with favorite toy bow and arrow, while the papooses, with baby stolidity, were perched near the crackling fires, sucking the bones of the latest toothsome addition to the larder, be it deer or dog. Or amid the wintry snows, when the fires were kindled inside the rock-shelters, and in the bark-huts erected on the shell heaps, one can readily picture the same occupants wrapped in furry bear, downy beaver, or silky deerskins, huddled around the crackling logs pounding corn, boiling sapsis, scraping hides, splitting pebbles and flints, and longing for the spring's return.

Into this peaceful and simple existence, one bright afternoon in September, in 1609, came the astonishing news of the advent, on the broad bosom of the Mai-kan-e-tuk, of the Sea-Monster or devil-canoe, which had arrived ten days before in the lower bay, and of which no doubt stories, almost unbelievable, had already reached their band, on which craft were reported to be white-faced men dressed in strange clothing, and possessing the most fascinating objects, hatchets and knives, alluring to mankind, and colored beads fascinating to squaws, which might be procured from them

by exchange. The "Remonstrance" of 1649, recites that "even at the present day, the natives of the country (who are so old as to remember the event) testify: that on seeing the Dutch ships on their first coming here, they knew not what to make of them, and could not comprehend whether they came down from Heaven, or whether they were Devils. Some among them, on its first approach even imagined it to be a fish, or some sea-monster, so that strange rumor concerning it flew throughout the whole country."

As the Halve Maen floated up with the tide towards Nip-nich-sen, the community no doubt turned out in a body and swarmed to points of vantage on Inwood and Spuyten Duyvil Hills, under shelter of trees and rocks, as the vessel came to an anchor off the shore, probably at a point just south of Fort Washington Park, in view of the loftiest point of the Palisades up-stream, "which showed out to us," as the ship's log runs, "bearing north by east five leagues off us." The next morning, before the southeast breeze, she went up river, followed by many a wondering gaze; and then came news from the native neighbors on the lower part of the island that two of their number had been detained on the ship, and were now carried off upon her, while another, who had been taken in similar manner had escaped.

On the first of October, the vessel re-appeared, coming down the river before a northwest wind, but, meeting the flood tide off the mouth of the creek, came to anchor there. The occurrences which followed, are told in detail by Robert Juet, in the *Journal of Hudson's Voyage*. "Then came one of the savages that swamme away from us at our going up the river, with many others, thinking to betray us, but we perceived their intent, and suffered none of them to enter our ship."

The revengeful nature of the Red Man, however, had been aroused by the detention of the hostages whom Hudson had seized, and, as the ship lay with her head down-stream, waiting the turn of the tide, they made an attack upon the vessel. "Two canoes full of men, with their bows and arrows shot at us after our sterne: In recompence whereof we discharged six muskets, and killed two or three of them."

Thus was started the blood feud between the Red and White man on our island, and the stupidly revengeful action, immediately aroused the whole local community, so that, as the ship weighed and slowly floated down river on the ebb, "above an hundred of them came to a point of land to shoot at us." The ship would have passed close to Fort Washington Point, so that the natives swarmed the woods at close range. "There I shot a falcon at them," the first cannon that ever woke the echoes of our hills, "and killed two of them, whereupon the rest fled into the woods," scared no doubt by the thunderous explosion. "Yet they manned off another canoe with nine or ten men," "which came to meet us," probably from the little cove below

the Point, "So I shot at it also a falcon, and shot it through and killed one of them. Then our men with their muskets, killed three or four more of them. So they went their way."

We may well imagine the excitement and rage of the Wick-quas-keeks after this affair, and the descriptions of it which would be spread abroad and handed on to the younger members of the tribe, to perpetuate a distrust and enmity which would bear fearful fruit a third of a century later.

We are not without detailed description of our primeval predecessors upon the island of Manhattan, for the Hollanders recorded many of their impressions of aboriginal peculiarities. We may assume that they possessed the usual characteristics, the stolid demeanor, the crafty methods, and revengeful nature of the Indian, all of which were exhibited in their dealings with the White intruders. These local bands appear to have had, in addition, some particular local habits. They painted their faces with red, blue, and yellow pigments, to such a distortion of their features, that, as one sententious Dominie expressed it, "They look like the devil himself." Their dependence on supplies of game and fish caused their removal from one place to another, semi-annually, and we read of their removal to a summer "hunting-ground" in Westchester, whence the band returned to "Wickers Creek," for the winter shelter, and to resume their occupation of oystering and fishing in the Harlem and Spuyten Duyvil Creek.

As for dress, "They go," said Juet, "in deerskins, loose well-dressed, some in mantles of feathers, and some in skins of divers sorts of good fures. They had red copper tobacco pipes, and other things of copper they do wear about their neckes."

No copper objects have been found in upper Manhattan, probably their metallic stock was bartered away with the early colonists, for in 1625, De Laet described their use of "Stone pipes for smoking tobacco."

As regards their food, the evident abundance and size of the local oyster shells shows that they possessed in them a ready source of subsistence. As soon as Hudson's ship reached the neighborhood of Greenwich, where the Indian Village Sappokanikan, was located, the natives "brought great store of very good oysters aboard, which we bought for trifles." De Laet (1625) says, "their food is maize, crushed fine and baked in cakes, with fish, birds and wild game." Van der Donck and others wrote in 1649: —

"Their fare, or food, is poor and gross, for they drink water, having no other beverage; they eat the flesh of all sorts of game that the country supplies, even badgers, dogs, eagles and similar trash, which Christians in no way regard; these they cook and use uncleansed and undressed."

"Moreover, all sorts of fish; likewise, snakes, frogs and such like, which they usually cook with the offals and entrails."

"They know also, how to preserve fish and meete for the winter, in order then to cook them with Indian meal."

"They make their bread, but of very indifferent quality, of maize, which they also cook whole, or broken in wooden mortars."

"The women likewise perform this labor, and make a *apa* or porridge called by some, *Sapsis*, by other, *Duundare*, which is their daily food, they mix this also thoroughly with little beans, of different colors, raised by themselves; this is esteemed by them rather as a dainty than as a daily dish."

Their weapons were, of course, the usual aboriginal bow, arrow, spear, club and tomahawk, though but a few years later, they had acquired from the settlers enough fire-arms to become exceedingly expert in their use. "Now, those residing near, or trading considerably with the Christians, make use of fire-locks and hatchets, which they obtain in barter. They are excessively fond of guns; spare no expense on them, and are so expert with them, that in this respect they excell many Christians." Many of their discarded neolithic weapons have been found, and these exhibit a wide variety of material and workmanship, indicating considerable acquisitions from other tribes and localities. Their household utensils included "mats and wooden dishes," and Juet refers to their "pots of earth to dresse their meats in," and speaks also of the women bringing "*hempe*." The character of the grass mats which the women wove is to be seen in the imprints made with such material upon the outer surface of some of the local pottery. They also made the grass baskets, often referred to in early records, as "*napsas*." The pots of earth were the large earthenware vessels made by the Indian women, on the decorations of the rims and upper portions of which, these poor creatures expended all their ingenuity and sense of art.

Of these objects, there remain a number of interesting examples discovered in upper Manhattan, the most complete, and at the same time, most artistic, being the fine Iroquoian vessel discovered by Mr. W. L. Calver, on the south side of 214th Street, about 100 feet east of 10th Avenue, in the fall of 1906. The large vases found in broken condition in the cave at Cold Spring, are of the cruder and therefore, earlier design of the original Algonkian inhabitants, who at a later period, probably by barter, and perhaps by inter-marriage, acquired or learned the art of Iroquoian design and decoration.

Of the period during which the race occupied this locality, we can only make conjectures. The extent and character of the shell heaps at Cold Spring and the pits and burials at Seaman Avenue, certainly indicate a settlement of large numbers or of considerable age. The ceremonial pits at 212th Street, and certain remains of aboriginal feasting, such as fish bones and oyster shells, appeared to exist at a level below the graves of the slaves of the settlers, buried at that place.

While these conjectures may carry back the period of occupancy to antiquity, the tools and weapons are all of the modern order, and no objects of true paleolithic character have been discovered, so that we have as yet, nothing definitely reaching back into the remote ages of the most primitive mankind, although on Hunt's Point in the Bronx, at no great distance away from our island, a very interesting rude ax and a hammer were discovered by Mr. Calver in a gravel-pit, near the old Hunt burying-ground.

ABORIGINAL REMAINS ON WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.

The objects of an aboriginal character, which have been discovered upon the upper part of Manhattan Island, afford a good deal of information as to the nature and habits of the natives. The story of the first discovery of aboriginal objects in this locality is worth preserving, and may show on how slight a matter may hinge the direction which is given to archæological attention, which in this instance, if not given at the time, would in all probability have resulted in the destruction, by building and street opening, of most of the evidences of primeval life, which the work of Mr. W. L. Calver has preserved. It was in the spring of the year 1890, that, during a search for Revolutionary relics, he became acquainted with James McGuey, a resident of Inwood, with whom a casual observation of the ground at Seaman Avenue and Academy Street was made. Here, a number of arrow-heads and a hammerstone, were discovered together with a fragment of Indian pottery. This little surface find started the explorers' interest in this direction and McGuey extended his investigations to the land on the south side of Dyckman Street which was then being opened, where he secured a number of fragments of pottery. At this place, which is known as "The Knoll," there were a number of rude stones set in such positions as to indicate the presence of graves. The information of these finds spreading, they were dug into by several residents who found therein a number of skeletons which the newspaper accounts described as aboriginal. The presence of buttons and other colonial objects, however, disproved this fanciful theory, and the discovery of the first indisputable Indian burial was not made until 1907 by W. L. Calver and the writer, in Seaman Avenue. (Fig. 6.)

The wanderings of the first two explorers led them to the shell heaps at Cold Spring Hollow where their search was soon rewarded by many objects of aboriginal character. Others were found by them, at the foot of Dyckman Street near the Hudson River bank, and at large shell heaps near the then Kingsbridge Road (Broadway) on the line of the present

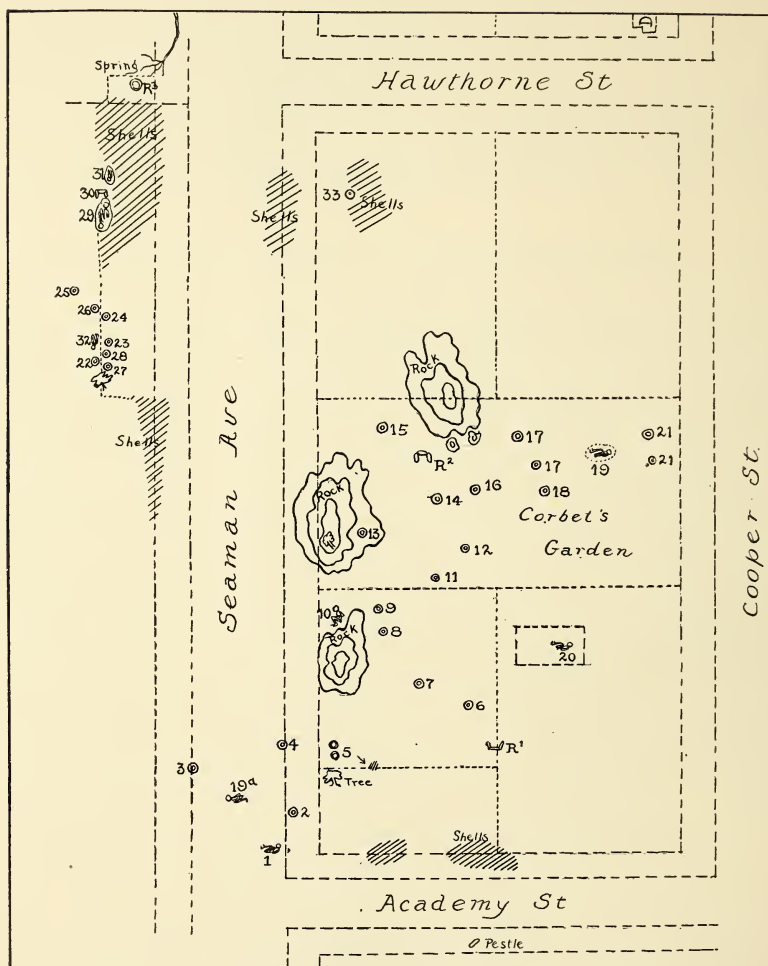


Fig. 6. Location of Burials, Pits and Shell-beds near Inwood. 1. Human remains. 2. Shell pit, deer antler. 3. Shell pit. 4. Shell pit, pottery. 5. Shell pits. 6. Shell pit, sturgeon below. 7. Shell pit, sturgeon scales. 8. Shell pit. 9. Shell pit. 10. Human remains. 11. Fire pit. 12. Shell pit. 13. Dog burial, puppy. 14. Shell pit. 15. Part of a jar. 16. Shell pit, fish and meat bones. 17. Shell pits. 18. Two dogs in shell pit. 19. Human skeleton, 1907. 19a. Female skeleton, 1908. 20. Human remains when house was built. 21. Small fire pits, Revolutionary. 22. Large shell pit. 23. Large shell pit. 24. Shell pit. 25. Dog burial. 26, 27, 28. Shell pits. 29. Two human skeletons, male and female. 30. Revolutionary fireplace "Royal Mariners" and "17th" 31. Skeleton and infant, female. 32. Skeleton (Chenoweth, 1908). 33. Revolutionary fireplace, 71st, officers' buttons. D, Dyckman dwelling. R¹, R², Revolutionary fireplaces. R³, Revolutionary well.

Ship Canal. The soapstone pipe, Plate xvii, Fig. 4, was also found near the same highway, bearing upon it a rude representation of a human face. At 209th to 211th Streets along the shore of the Harlem River, a number of shell deposits proclaimed the one-time presence of the Indian, and with them were found bones of deer and split bones of other animals, although the surface of these deposits had been much disturbed by the plows of the Dyckmans.

Near this spot, on January 27, 1895, Mr. Calver found the first of the dog burials (250)¹ which have since then been discovered in a number of places around Inwood Vale. This skeleton, together with fragments of pottery was found beneath a compact mass of oyster shells about eighteen inches deep. The skeleton was incomplete and evidently disposed at the

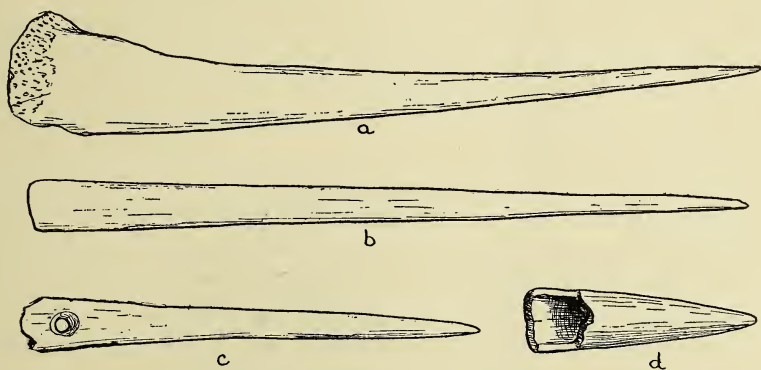


Fig. 7 a (1-3942), b (1-3944), c, d (Bolton and Calver Collection). Implements of Bone and Horn, Van Cortlandt Park. Length of a, 14.5 cm.

bottom of the pit with intention and care, probably indicating that the animal was sacrificed in some such ceremonial as the "White Dog Feast" of the Onondagas, which has survived to recent times. Of these burials one (250) was found at 209th Street and 9th Avenue, another (251) at 210th Street and 10th Avenue, another among a series of pits around the base of the hillock in which were found the remains of the negro slaves of the early settlers, at 212th Street and 10th Avenue. This latter was opened by Messrs. Edward Hagaman Hall and W. I. Calver and was found to contain with the skeleton of a dog, fragments of a vase, Fig. 8. Other pits at this place contained the bones of a turtle and a snake, and one contained large fish bones (281), possibly the remains of a necklace.

During the year 1907 Mr. Calver and the writer discovered numerous

¹ Reference numbers are those of the Calver Collection.

shell pits in Seaman Avenue, (Plate XIII), one of which, not far from the first human burial (291) contained the skeletons of two dogs (252), one much smaller than the other, which, together with some pottery, lay under a mass of oysters, and nearby was a rather shallow pile of oyster shells, below which lay the remains of a puppy (253). Across the avenue, close to the human burials (291, 292) a shallow pit of shells and debris contained the skeletons of two puppies (254). These dog burials may have been not an uncommon feature of the aboriginal life of a local tribe.

The opening, by Mr. Alexander Chenoweth, of the interior of the cave at Cold Spring, disclosed a large number of objects, showing its extended occupation by the Red man. These objects are now in the Museum, where they form an interesting collection. Around this spot many other objects were found indicating the use of this sheltered glade by the wild animals of the forest, by the Indians, and by their successors, the soldiery of the Revolution. The mixed character of such objects is shown by No. 268, a group of aboriginal and civilized debris taken at one time from the soil beneath an overhanging rock, the surface of which still bears traces of the fires it once sheltered.

One of the most interesting places, which was examined with considerable thoroughness, is the site of the one-time "Century House," or the Nagel homestead, and perhaps also the site of the home of Tobias Teunissen, the first white settler in this locality (p. 98). Here, on the river bank at 213th Street, around and below quantities of colonial, Revolutionary and more modern relics, were found many evidences of Indian occupation. The interesting "banner stone" or ceremonial (Plate XVII, Fig. 6) was found here, almost two feet below the ground in 1906; its state indicating long use, its fracture and repair, and final second breakage. Among oyster shells of abnormal size and shape were found a fine stone tomahawk (Plate XVII, Fig. 11) which appears to have been utilized as a rubbing stone or pestle, a beautifully formed war arrow-head of black chert, a flint boring-tool (211) and the small paint cup (229) in the form of a hollow pebble such as are found on the beaches of Long Island, but having two distinct nicks on its edge. Quite near this cup was a piece of brown ochre or paint stone. A pestle (212) was found in one wall of the old building, long buried within its foundation, and close to the dwelling, but well below the sods was the bone needle (Fig. 7c). Another curious find of a needle was number 239, which was found in the shell pit which contained the remains of the two puppies on Seaman Avenue (254).

These finds culminated in the discovery, by Mr. W. L. Calver, at 214th Street, about one hundred feet east of 10th Avenue, of a fine jar of Iroquois pattern, about 13 inches in diameter and height. This interesting object

slightly protruded from the surface of a newly graded bank and had been missed by the spades of the laborers by no more than an inch (Plate xiv). It lay upon its side, about eighteen inches below the sods and was quite intact. It has an old break in the rim which may have been utilized as a spout, and a hole about three quarters of an inch in diameter in the body. This jar has the four characteristic prominences of rim, around which the decoration is incised in diagonal and vertical lines, with a band of four lines following the contour (Plate xv).

These finds and particularly those of the dog burials, stimulated interest in the search for some traces of the actual aboriginal residents of this section; and many were the laborious efforts made to locate such remains. These were not rewarded until the grading away of the base of the east side of Inwood Hill for the opening of Seaman Avenue, disclosed a large number of shell pockets or pits and the hasty operations of the laborers threw out with these a few fragments of human bones. By the number and variety of objects found on the line of Seaman Avenue, it would appear that this favored spot was the site of a considerable encampment or village. It occupies the sandy slope at the base of the east side of Inwood Hill, and is sheltered from north and west winds and

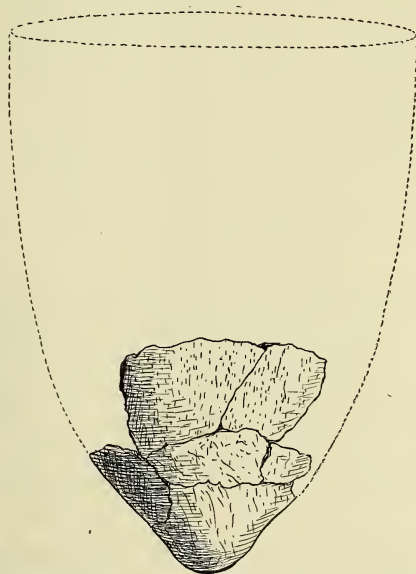


Fig. 8 (Bolton and Calver Collection). Bottom of an Algonkin Vessel, Showing a Peculiar Point. Manhattan Island.

from observation from the Hudson River. Its advantages were recognized in the Revolution by its selection as one of the largest camps of that period; where we learn from Washington's own observations, upwards of a hundred tents were placed. So, remains of Revolutionary warfare, buttons, badges, weapons, missiles and camp debris are found scattered over the same area with aboriginal stone weapons, implements and pottery, while the camp fire of the British soldiery trenches upon the fire pit of the Red man, or may even be found to have been dug into the shallow grave of an Indian warrior. All around this place were found, in recent years, numerous surface indi-

cations of Indian occupation, including a large number of fragments of the red indurated shale of New Jersey, worked in part into weapons, while arrow-heads of varied material and character were scattered over the same space (99-102 to 110, 168) a good club-stone (193) was found here. Here also were found articles of less sinister character such as stone axes (125-142) hammerstones (111 to 114-120-141) used for pounding nuts and corn, sinkers (118-144-145) used for fishing nets, pestles (150), a celt (119), a gouge (149) and a tool (158) of unknown character. These objects were scattered over the area extending westward from Academy Street to and beyond Isham Street and were particularly in evidence in a strip of ground, extending from Seaman Avenue to Cooper Street, cultivated by a gardener named Corbett. The excavations referred to (1907) destroyed a number of shell pits or pockets ere they could be investigated, but enough remained to establish the long continued use of the location by the aborigines.

At the bottom of several of these shell pits were found quantities of

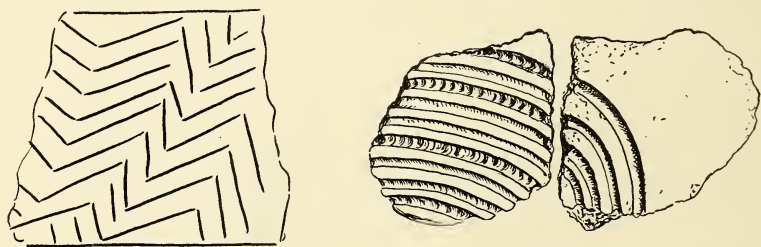


Fig. 9 *a* (20-3461), *b* (20-6586). Incised and Stamped Fragments of Algonkin Pottery. Manhattan Island.

surgeon scales (225 and 259) accompanied by deer prongs in one case and by pottery in another. Other pits contained evidences of fire, fire-stones, pottery and animal bones (260 and 261). Among the debris thrown into the street, the writer found the first evidence of human remains (284), a fragment of a skull and a vertebræ. The find excited attention and other fragments were soon found at the corner of Academy Street and Seaman Avenue (283). Among them were a tooth and a fragment of a jaw. A few other fragments (285) were thrown out at Hawthorne Street. It thus became evident that there were human interments in the vicinity, and in August 1907 the first burial (291) was discovered under a shell pit in Corbett's garden. The grading process had been extended only about eighteen inches below the sod, but had sufficed to destroy the jaw of the skeleton which extended upwards, as did also the foot bones. The bones lay in and upon a close mass of oyster shells, some of which were unopened, the

skeleton reclined on its right side, facing west. The arms were flexed and crossed, the knees bent and the head thrown back. No traces of weapons were found, nor were there any other objects found, save a fragment of an animal bone.

The location and position led to further exploration which early in 1908 led to still more interesting discoveries. Sunday, March 22nd, being the first day in the field for exploration for the season for 1908, W. L. Calver and the writer met at Seaman Avenue and Hawthorne Street, Manhattan, to discuss plans for further excavations on this Indian village site. The rains of the winter 1907-8 had washed the west bank where the layer of oyster shells and black dirt lay along the hill, and a patch of red burnt earth was observed, which on digging out, disclosed a fireplace, evidently of the period of the Revolution, having some large burnt stones, ashes, wood charcoal, brick, broken rum bottles, a wine glass nearly complete, a large open clasp-knife with bone handle, a hoop-iron pot-hook, various forged head nails, and a curious folding corkscrew. Gold buttons of Revolutionary pattern and an officer's silver button of the Royal Mariners, together with pewter buttons of the 17th Regiment disclosed who had occupied the spot.

At one part of this fireplace, we came upon a pocket of oyster shells, evidently Indian, about two feet deep, and on removing some of these had the good fortune to uncover a human thigh-bone. We worked carefully into the shells and under the pocket, gradually disclosing the complete remains of a full grown man (293) lying on its right side, feet to the north, head facing east, knees doubled up, the left arm extended down through the thighs. The feet had been within the area of the hole in which the Revolutionary fireplace had been made, and only one or two foot bones were found. At a later period other foot bones were found on the opposite side of the Revolutionary fireplace, evidently having been displaced in its construction. The right arm was flexed, and the hand was under the head, the latter was intact and every tooth was in place. Shells had been packed over the body, and some around it. We were much puzzled by a number of human bones, lying compactly together by the skeleton, in a position that would have been in its lap had it been upright (Plate xvi).

We removed the skull, covered the remains, and on Sunday, March 29th, renewed the work. We went carefully to work upon the cluster of mixed bones (293b) in front of the large skeleton, and soon found them to be rather compactly arranged in a rectangular form about 14 by 26 inches, the long bones parallel. The vertebræ abruptly ended parallel with the head of the larger skeleton, and after working some time, we found a skull placed below, beneath the pile of bones in a vertical posi-

tion, facing north, the lower jaw of which was disengaged, and was placed sideways in front of the face. The back of the skull was broken in, and was black with marks of burning. The lower jaw was burned, and some of the teeth split by fire. The arm and leg bones were charred at the joints. Inside the skull was a burned toe bone. There were some oyster shells among the charred remains.

A significant fact was that the right arm bones of the large skeleton were below the pile of burned bones. This feature, and the compact arrangement of the latter within the space in front of and at the same level as the large skeleton, seem to point strongly towards an intentional arrangement of these bones, in front of the large corpse and to indicate the simultaneous burial of the two bodies. On examination, the large skeleton proved to be that of an adult male, and the dismembered remains those of a female of about 35 years of age. No implements were found with the remains but a part of a stone pestle (231) and a rude celt (232) lay under the sod among the oysters above the large skeleton.

On Sunday, June 14, 1908, another burial was found about 20 feet north of the above. This burial consisted of an adult skeleton doubled up and its back much curved, and was apparently that of a female of mature age. Between the knees, the remains of a small infant were laid, the skull of the latter being fragmentary. The right hand of the adult was below the infant and the left hand around the throat. The skull was intact and had nearly all the teeth. One finger bone had grown together at the joint in a crooked position apparently due to disease. On lifting the ribs of the right side, an arrow-head of flint fell out between the fourth and fifth bones. These skeletons lay about two and a half feet below the grass, and a pocket of oyster shells was over the head. The woman's remains lay within a space about 31 inches long by 50 inches wide, flat in the hard red sand bed facing east.

Shortly after these remains were discovered, Mr. Chenoweth extended the excavation previously made by the explorers at the side of a large oyster shell pit in the same bank of sand, and uncovered a male skeleton of which he preserved the skull. Some small fragments of the skeleton (287) were afterwards found by the writer on this spot. Contractors for the sewer in Seaman Avenue also uncovered the remains of a young female (290) close to the position of several of the shell pits previously described.

These interments have some curious features. The position of the remains facing east, sometimes west, the absence of weapons or other objects and the oyster shells packed with or above them are subjects for interesting discussion on which future finds may throw much light, as also upon the peculiar double burial and the burnt state of the female remains.

The general result seems to indicate that the Wick-quas-keeks had special customs and ceremonies of which the dog-burial was one, and the possible suttee of the widow of a sachem, another. The use of the shell pits partly for shells only, partly for the debris of feasts, partly for dog or fish burials and partly to cover human remains is a subject open to conjecture.

The continued disturbance of the surface may yet bring to light other

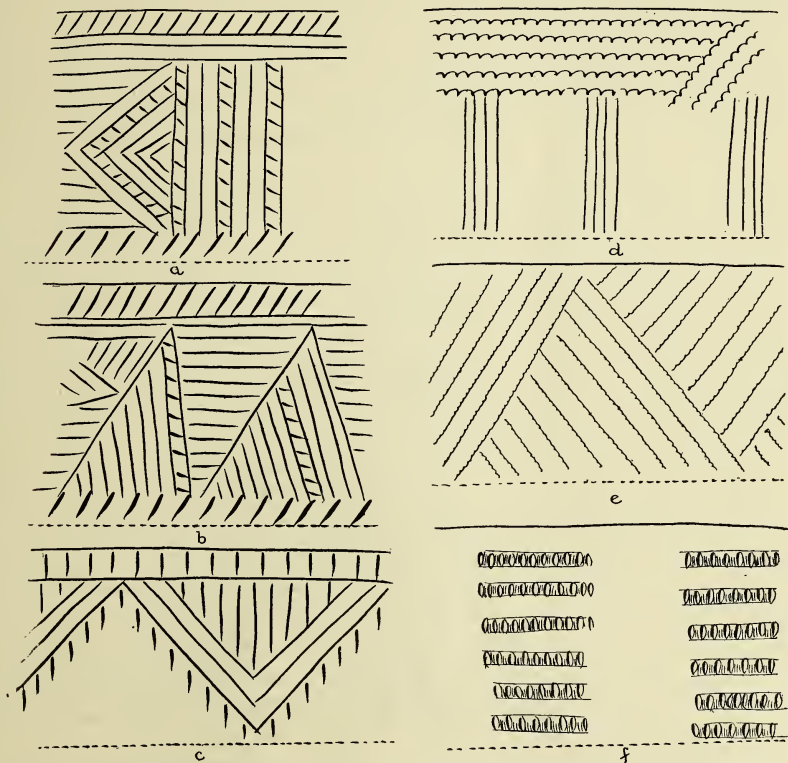


Fig. 10 (Bolton and Calver Collection). Designs from Vessels found on Manhattan Island.

remains and objects which may afford information as to the purposes of some of these discoveries, but enough has been found to indicate the characteristics of the early Manhattanites and to add to the interesting fact of their association with the island upon which our great city was founded; peculiarities, which in themselves are of particular interest to archæologists.

RELATIONS WITH THE FIRST SETTLERS.

The story of the relations of the European settlers with these early owners of Upper Manhattan, is a tale with many of the same characteristics, as that of the contact of the two races in other parts of our country, where the White man, finding a foothold by courtesy, or by some nominal purchase, eventually excites the Indian's jealousy by his encroachments, and then pursues with the native, a course of expropriation, with or without warrant, returning an exterminating vengeance on every attempt of the native to resist the advance of "civilization." So, on Manhattan, the first White arrivals, by courtesy of the natives, who were "hospitable when well treated," as De Laet says, "ready to serve the White man for little compensation," became squatters at Battery place, a tenure which in 1626, was, by the so-called "purchase" of the island by Director Minuit, exchanged for an ambiguous ownership, the extent of which, as well as the authority of those Indians who entered into the bargain were promptly repudiated by the natives as soon as the White man advanced to their home locality, and made his appearance at Harlem and the Heights. It appears from their objections, frequently repeated from this time forward, that the Indians had at least regarded that sale as extending no further than Yorkville on the east and Manhattanville on the west, at which part of Manhattan in those early days, the watery marshes of Harlem plain, the deep indentation of Rechemwa's creek on the east (the later Harlem Creek) and the rivulet in the Manhattanville ravine on the west, practically cut off the island from the Heights. That this view not only prevailed, but was recognized by those of the Hollanders, whose sense of justice was added to a consideration of self-interest, is shown by the fact that Stuyvesant entered, in 1649, into an additional deed of purchase of some portion of the upper end of the island, which deed also recognized the then, and future Indian title to ownership of the westerly half of the upper end of the present Borough.

It was in the year 1636, that Doctor de la Montagne, the first White settler of Harlem, arrived, in a dug-out canoe, at Rechemas' Point, or 105th Street, on the East River, bringing with him, his wife, two babies, and some farm hands, and soon made a clearing for a bark cabin, at 7th Avenue and 115th Street. His authority for settlement was a "grant" from Kieft, of about two hundred acres, extending from 109th to 124th Streets and from 5th to 9th Avenues, through which extended the Indian trail to the Heights. To this locality, De la Montagne gave the name of Vredendal or "Quiet Dale," and to it were soon attracted other hardy settlers who pre-empted practically all the large tract of low-land which is now covered by Harlem, all settling thereon without further consideration of, or consent by, the natives.

Jonas Bronck arrived in 1639, but crossing the Harlem to Morrisania, he made a new purchase of the tract then known as Ranachqua, now part of the Bronx, by a regular deed, in which Rechemac and other sachems joined.

One of the most important of these early squatters of Harlem was Bronck's friend and fellow-countryman, Captain Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, who secured from the Dutch authorities in July, 1639, the right to settle upon the Indian "Schorrakin," a large tract along the bank of the Harlem, from the line of 1st to 5th Avenue, which he re-named Zegendal, the "Vale of Blessing," and to which he added a sort of claim to the lower end of Washington Heights, which became known to the scanty settlers, as "Jochem Pieter's hills."

It was but natural, if the Red Men regarded these Harlem settlements as trenching upon their property rights, and as interfering with their very means of subsistence, that they would resent a continual enlargement of the settlement, and as each succeeding settler was followed by others, and their favorite haunts, fishing and oystering places were appropriated, their suspicious nature was aroused, and it only needed some overt act on the part of the White Man, to precipitate an outbreak. Every inducement of advantage, as well as of security, lay in the direction of conciliating the natives, who surrounded the pioneers on every side, and at first the accommodation of each to the other was mutually recognized. The settler often needed the Red Man's labor, his venison, oysters and furs, and at times even his maize, for all of which he paid in objects of small value, or bartered his old guns and ammunition. On the other hand, to the native, the settler represented a market for these materials, and a source whence could be obtained beads for his squaw, and fire-water for his own enjoyment. Thus the settlers had come to regard the Wick-quas-keeks as no novelty, and their visits to the *bouweries* or their appearance on the trail, or their passage on the broad waters, as matters of no special importance. Kuyter wrote, that the settlers "pursue their out-door labor without interruption, in the woods, as well as in the field, and dwell safely, with their wives and children, in their houses, free from any fear of the Indians." How different might have been the history of this locality, had this mutual confidence been maintained.

The breach was precipitated by Director Kieft's own ill-judged course of action. Attempting in 1639, to impose and collect a Tax upon the Red Men, he followed this futile act by an attack, with very slim excuse, on the Raritan Indians, by a force of soldiers, in July, 1640, which act excited all the neighboring tribes. A Wick-quas-keek, who from boyhood, had harbored a grudge against the Hollanders, because his uncle had been killed, and his beaver skins stolen by three of Minit's men some years before, took a long-

deferred revenge one mid-summer day, by murdering old Claes Swits, one of the Yorkville settlers, in his house at Turtle Bay, which stood "on the road over which the Indians from Wick-quas-keek passed daily." It was a brutal act, and the murderer was known, for he had worked for Swit's son, and it was accompanied too, by theft, for the savage, "stole all the goods," for some of which he was bargaining with the old man when the deed was done.

A yacht was sent to Wick-quas-keek to demand satisfaction, and the surrender of the murderer, but the Indians, regarding the act as entirely justifiable from their point of view, refused, and their head Sachem expressed the general feeling of their growing resentment, by saying that he "wished twenty Swannekins (Dutchmen) had been murdered," instead of the one who had fallen. No satisfaction could be obtained, and the more peaceable spirits among the Hollanders postponed action in revenge, urging that at any rate, an attack on the Indians should not be made, "till the maize trade be over," and should be attempted "in the harvest when the Indians were hunting."

When that period had arrived, a conference took place (November 1, 1641) as to the advisability of using force with the savages. Jochem Kuyter, whose bouwerie was the most advanced and exposed to retaliation, advised patience, and suggested that the Indians who were alert, should be lulled into security before an attack should be made upon them. So no action was taken, until scouts reported early in 1642, that the natives "lay in their village suspecting nothing," and the deplorable decision was then reached to seize this opportunity of sending an armed force upon them. Accordingly, a body of 80 men, commanded by Ensign Hendrick Van Dyck, marched to the neighborhood of Yonkers, under the guidance of Tobias Teunissen, a farmer employed by Montagne, who knew the locality. The expedition failed to surprise the natives, and losing their way in the darkness, the Hollanders returned, fortunately without conflict. Their appearance, however, had effected sufficient impression, to lead the sachems to agree to a peace treaty, which was formally entered into in Bronck's house in Morrisania.

The ties of mutual confidence had now been broken between the Red and White Man, and as the ill luck of both would have it, the enemies of the former, the Mohawks of the Albany district, chose the succeeding winter for an incursion upon the Wick-quas-keeks, for the purpose of reducing them to their ancient condition of tributary vassalage. An overwhelming horde of Mohawks, equipped with firearms, descended upon Westchester County, and slaughtered the unfortunate clansmen in Yonkers, Spuyten Duyvil and probably at Inwood, captured many of their women and chil-

dren, and forced the survivors, a fugitive crowd, to make their way in the deep snow of that bitter winter season, to Fort Amsterdam, there to seek the protection of the White intruders.

To the everlasting shame of Kieft, of Tienhoven and others among the Hollanders, the White men repaid this confidence by a murderous act of treachery, of which the history of civilization contains few equally barbarous examples. On the night of February 25, 1643, the wretched Wick-quas-keeks, then huddled in temporary shelters at Van Corlear's Point, and at Pavonia, on the Jersey side of the Hudson River, were massacred in cold blood by "civilized" soldiers and citizens, and so indiscriminate was the slaughter, that even Indians of friendly tribes were put to death. The cruel act brought a prompt punishment. Joining hands, the outraged natives of all neighboring clans, took issue against the settlers, and all around the new City and especially at Harlem, they attacked the outlying settlements, slaughtered the farmers, captured their families, killed or drove off the live stock, and burned their houses, their grain and hay. The rest of the winter "passed in confusion and terror," but in the spring, a mutual desire for a truce, which would enable both parties to sow their fields, led to a doubtful peace, which was formally agreed to on April 22, 1643, a peace which, as soon as their crops were harvested, was broken by the Red Men, who again drove the settlers off their holdings, and chased them within sight of the walls of the fort. Privation, if not starvation, now stared the colonists in the face, so that even the most peaceful among them joined in expeditions, by which during the winter of 1644, the territory of the Wick-quas-keeks was scoured, and the natives driven from their homes by sword and fire.

Amidst all the destruction, Zegandal, the Harlem home of Captain Kuyter, had been preserved, protected as it was by a strong palisade, and a guard of men stationed within, but on March 5, 1645, it too was set on fire by a blazing arrow, and the house, barn and crops were entirely destroyed. This act was no doubt the crowning revenge of the tribesmen, directed against Kuyter, for his share in the conflict, as a Captain of troops, and the ineffectiveness of the guard and of the defenses of palisades in protecting this important property, created so widespread an impression, that all further efforts to colonize our locality, were, for the time being, abandoned. Nevertheless, a system of passive resistance to the active savages eventually wearied them to such an extent, that the tribes became willing to bury the hatchet, and on August 30, 1645, at a grand council in Fort Amsterdam, a peace was concluded, in which "Little Ape," the chief of the Mohawks, spoke as the representative of their tributary tribe, the Wick-quas-keeks and pledged them to the treaty obligations, of which that which most affected the local clan, was, that no Indian should "come with weapons on Manhattan Island, nor in the vicinity of Christian dwellings."

Adriaen Van der Donck, the first lawyer among the settlers, and a man of some substance, had, in 1647, received as a grant from Governor Kieft, but had also honorably secured by purchase from the Sachem Tacharew, that tract of marsh and meadow, some thirty or forty morgen in extent, bordering on the north side of Papparinemin, which we now know as Kingsbridge, intending there to build and till, "since his inclination and judgment led him to that place." The features of marsh and meadow, so dear to a Dutchman's heart, led others to look with interest upon the very similar features upon our Island, in the charming vale which to-day comprises the Dyckman tract.

It thus came about that the settlers had barely summoned the necessary courage to start back to their abandoned holdings, and the aborigines had recovered enough sense of security to return to their lair under the Inwood hills, ere, undeterred by the failure of his previous course of action, and disregarding of the unextinguished right of livelihood and residence of the Red Man, Governor Kieft, in 1646, entered upon a course of extended grants of unsettled lands, selecting the very centre of Indian home-life for distribution to the favored recipients.

To Matthys Jansen Van Keulen, he gave, August 18, 1646, a ground brief of all Marble Hill, the "Papparinemin," and to the same enterprising land-grabber and his friend Aertsen, a patent was issued for the entire 200 acres of the choice marshes of the Dyckman tract extending from 211th Street, south to Dyckman Street, a tract known later as the Rondevly, or Round Meadow.

On this land, which the patentees did not attempt personally to occupy, a hardy pioneer now took up his abode. Tobias Teunissen, who, as the representative or lessee of the patentees, thus became the first squatter at Inwood, had been employed by Dr. De la Montagne on his farm in Harlem, and now taking to himself a new Vrouw, the couple ventured into the very heart of the Red Men's home, and established themselves on the Harlem west bank, probably at or near the site of the later, Nagel or Century, house. There is some reason to suppose their little dwelling may have been that of which the writer discovered the foundation, fireplace and floor, beneath the surface of the garden ground in front of the site of the Century house, a little half basement built of rough stone, the upper part in frame, half sunk in the crest of the river bank, around which were also found a number of interesting Indian objects.

Teunissen's situation was not without peril, for he had been the guide in the unsuccessful expedition to Yonkers, in 1642 and was thus a marked man among his savage neighbors, with whom an injury was nursed but never forgotten. The appearance among them of this pioneer, and still

more, the appearance of the surveyors, deliberately staking out these claims in the immediate vicinity of their winter home, must, we may well imagine, have filled the natives with forebodings of the inefficacy of the peace they had so recently concluded, and have stirred again in their breasts the sense of resentment.

Kuyter, whose bouwery at Zegendal lay still in ruin, had been engaged in a controversy with Kieft, which eventually resulted in the departure of the latter, and his replacement by Stuyvesant. The removal of Kieft, however, at first brought no improved policy towards the Indian rights, for his successor, following the same course, began by allotting to Isaac de Forest, another large section of Harlem lands, between that of Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, and the Van Keulen hook. Stuyvesant, however, eventually recognizing the ill-success and difficulty besetting these continued efforts to settle the lands of which the Red men still maintained their ownership, entered, in 1649, into a remarkable deed of purchase, evidently intended to quiet those claims and to avoid further restlessness on the part of the natives. This deed ran as follows: —

“On this day the date underwritten appeared before the Noble Lords the Director General and the Council, Megte-gich-kama, Ote-yoch-guo, Wegta-koch-ken, the right owners of the lands lying on the North River of New Netherland on the east shore called Ubiequaes hook in the breadth through the woods, 'till a certain Kill called Seweyrut diverging at the East River, from thence northward and southward to a certain kill named Rechawes, the same land betwixt two kills one half woods betwixt the North and East Rivers so that the western half to the aforesaid is still remaining and the other Easterly half with a south and north directions middle through the woods the aforesaid owners acknowledged that with the consent of the Chief Sachem they have sold the parcel of land and all their oystering, fish, &c. unto the Noble Lord Petrus Stuyvesant Director General of New Netherland for and in consideration of certain parcels of merchandize which they acknowledge to their satisfaction to have received into their own hands and power before the passing of these presents, viz:

6 Fathoms cloth for jackets	10 Harrowteeth
6 Fathoms Seawant	10 Corals or Beads
6 kettles	10 Bells
6 Axes	1 Gun
6 Addices	2 lbs. Lead
10 knives	2 lbs. Powder
	2 Cloath Coats.

In consideration of which the before-mentioned owners do hereby the said land convey transport and give over to the aforesaid Noble Lords the Director General and to his successors in full, true and free ownership.

To the said land We the Grantors neither now nor hereafter shall ever present any claim for selves, or heirs and successors desisting by these presents from all action, either of equity or jurisdiction, but conveying all the same to the said Director General and to his successors to do therewith as it may seem proper to them without their

the Grantors, or any of them molesting the Grantee of the aforesaid land whether in his property or in his family.

It is also agreed that the most westerly half just as the Lord Director pleases, shall go with this for so many goods as in . . . can be, and they the Grantors promise at all times to induce their Rulers on the North River to take the matter over and not to sell any without the knowledge of the Lord Director General; the Grantors promising this transport firmly to maintain as in equity they are bound to do,

Witness these presents by them respectively signed in the Fort Amsterdam in New Netherland this 14th day of July A. D. 1649.

Meg-te-gich-kama

Ote-yoch-guo

Weg-ta-koch-ken

The land boundaries herein loosely defined, evidently covered some large portion of the upper end of the island, from a point on the north side of Rechewa's Creek (or Harlem Creek) at 109th Street on the East River and was intended perhaps to extend as far north as the Sherman Creek, though possibly only as far as the then inlet at 155th Street and 8th Avenue. In either case, the right of the natives to the "westerly half," the wooded hills of the Heights, was clearly conceded, and the consent of the Mohawks "their rulers on the North River," was required for any further concession.

This bargain still left, undealt with and unpaid for, the Dyckman tract and Marble Hill, and the continued presence of Teunissen and his little family of wife and child in that area, within sight of their winter home, and upon the very ground on which their crops were grown and their ceremonies conducted, must have kept alive a resentment which lost nothing by the passage of time.

In this connection, the following statements of Riker are worthy of notice:—

"The Indians were resolved upon expelling the Whites from this end of the Island, upon the ground that they had not been duly paid for their lands. It is certain that the Indians did not recognize the sale (to Minuit) as a surrender of all their rights and privileges on this part of the Island. Perhaps, grown wiser in a generation, they saw that the trivial price then paid them (\$24.) was no equivalent for their rich maize land and hunting grounds."

"But they probably claimed to have reserved (as they often did in their sales) the right of hunting and planting, because in after years the Harlem people so far admitted their pretensions as to make them further compensation.

Well had it been for the Colonists had they earlier given heed to the dissatisfaction of the Indians, and done something to remove it."

Riker does not seem to have observed the foregoing deed of 1649, in which Stuyvesant did make an effort in part to effect such a settlement, though it evidently did not go far enough, and I think the secret of the continued dissatisfaction lay more in the trenching upon their home lands of Inwood,

and in the practice of hunting within their wild woods on the Heights, than upon their expropriation from Harlem, though they must naturally have suffered from the loss of their important fishing and oystering stations (121st Street and Pleasant Avenue, and on Montagne's or Rechewa's point 105th Street and Avenue A). Be the immediate provocation one or the other, the dissatisfaction of the Red Men so increased, that their threats and evidence of hostility caused general alarm and distrust among the White settlers, and in the year 1654, a fresh outbreak of savage vengeance resulted.

Among those who had returned to their abandoned holdings was Kuyter. Finding difficulty in securing help for the restoration of his farm, as many of the settlers still feared a re-settlement of the outlying bouweries, "through dread of the Indians and their threats," he at last undertook to occupy his farm himself, and marked man as he was, it was little to be wondered at, that in March, 1654, he fell an early victim to the savages, whose growing resentment against the re-occupation of their property now broke out afresh.

An organized effort now began on the part of the Red Men to sweep away, once and for all, the White intruders. On September 15, 1655, hundreds of braves, gathered at Inwood, embarked in sixty-four canoes, and reaching New Amsterdam, scattered through the town before daybreak, intent on plunder and killing. Governor Stuyvesant was absent, but the leaders of the townspeople, parleying with the savages, induced them temporarily to withdraw, probably because the savages never loved a daylight engagement. A skirmish, however, ensued in the evening, in which the Dutch soldiers drove off the invaders, who, in the same dread night of darkness, took their revenge upon the helpless settlers in the outlying districts, and commenced a terrible slaughter. "Miserably surprised by the cruel barbarous savages," Tobias Teunissen, and full fifty others, were murdered, and more than a hundred terrified women and children were carried off into captivity, among them Teunissen's wife and child.

The recent settlers in Kingsbridge, on the land which had been bought by Van der Donck, and those also on Jonas Bronck's land across the river, were driven away and their lands laid waste. The canoes of the Red Men prowled about Hellgate, waiting favorable opportunities of attack by their favorite method of surprise, and ere a few days had passed, every settlement was denuded by death, captivity, or flight, of its White occupants. Glutted with revenge, and having fully accomplished their main purpose, the savages sent in two captives, in October, offering to return others for ransom. In this offer, the families of Teunissen and of Swits, the son of the unfortunate colonist whose murder had resulted from the old grudge, were not included, both significant of a particular resentment felt by the natives towards these settlers.

Stuyvesant returned, and a council was called, at which the weakness of the little colony in the face of Indian numbers, was weighed against the desire for vengeance. The soldiers were therefore sent out only to bury the dead and gather in the scattered herds. They were stricken to the heart by the scenes of slaughter, devastation and ruin which every bouwery presented. It was not until the end of November, that the widows of Teunissen and Swits, with their children, were ransomed from their savage captors. What tales the poor women could have told of the wild life, habits, shelter and fare, which they had been forced to share for those weary weeks of captivity.

Thus perished poor Teunissen, the first settler of our Heights, a man of humble but sterling character, whose very determination and fearlessness brought about the sacrifice of his own life and of many others.

So thorough was the effect of this dreadful massacre, that by an ordinance of January 18, 1656, all further settlement upon outlying farms was forbidden, and all attempt for the time being, to colonize the island by separate farms was definitely abandoned, and the Red Men were left for a time, in undisputed possession of their wild home among the rocks of Inwood hill and to their whilom undisturbed occupations of fishing, oystering, and hunting on Washington Heights.

THE TOWN OF NEW HAERLEM AND THE PASSING OF THE RED MAN.

"The Director General and Council of New Netherland guarantee hereby, that for the further promotion of agriculture, for the security of this Island, and the cattle pasturing thereon, as well as for the further relief and expansion of this City Amsterdam in New Netherland, they have resolved to form a New Village or Settlement at the end of the Island, and about the land of Jochem Pietersen, deceased, and those which are adjoining to it."

Thus was ordered the establishment of the Village of New Haerlem, and the inducements of allotments of ground, for a dwelling, for a garden, and for a farm, with an accompanying slice of salt meadow soon attracted a little body of settlers, whose homes were laid out in August, 1658, along the line of that branch of the Indian trail which led from McGown's Pass, at Central Park near 110th Street, and afforded a beaten track to the Harlem River at 125th Street and First Avenue.

Confidence was to be established by the community life, and the mutual protection it afforded against the treachery of the natives. The public, however, was doomed to further alarm when news arrived on September 23, 1658, of the fierce outbreak of savage warfare at Esopus, so that many fled from their newly established homes, into the city, and a state of unrest

existed all that winter. Farming operations were brought almost to a standstill, notwithstanding the precautions which the settlers employed, of farming in common, even planting their contiguous fields in strips of similar crops, so that the workers could always be near each other, and always having their weapons handy.

In March 1660, a military company was formed in Harlem, under the command of Jan Pietersen Slot, as Sergeant, which was furnished with a supply of powder, and the inhabitants were thus prepared for defense.

Another Indian attack and massacre at Esopus was reported, January 7, 1663, and started a fresh alarm at Harlem. The village folk again assembled into military companies, and proceeded to place palisades around their little village home, within which, two 7-lb. cannon were mounted, and a strict military watch was kept. The savages at Esopus were soon put to rout by the Dutch armed force under Stuyvesant, and part of the Harlem force having volunteered, took part in the campaign.

In July, a body of Wick-quas-keeks, including about 80 warriors now professedly friendly, fearing an attack from the armed parties of Mohawks upon the war path, moved from their usual haunts, for their better security, into the woods of our Height, and caused alarm and panic among the settlers. Their Chief, Sau-wen-a-rack, with his brother, came into Harlem and explained the reason for their proximity, stating that they feared an attack by the Esopus Indians, who were advancing 50 or 60 strong, to attack them and also to wipe out the Harlem settlement. The threatened incursion failed of accomplishment, but the Sachem and his people, taking advantage of the common feeling of danger, seized the opportunity to ask permission to fish near the village, which was conceded, on condition that they should bear no weapons near the town. To identify the friendly from the hostile, they were given copies of the official seal of the West Indian Company, printed on wax in small billets, to be shown on necessary occasions.

In 1664, 16 May, a new treaty with the tribes of the Hudson, was concluded, and the Harlem people were relieved by the fact that Sau-wen-a-rack, head sachem of our local tribe, renewed his pledge of friendship, by signing it.

In September of this eventful year, the British fleet arrived, and the Dutch dominion was exchanged for the English, under the Governorship of Col. Richard Nicolls, one of whose first orders, addressed "to the Schout and present magistrates of Harlem," ran as follows:

"To the Schout and present Magistrates of Harlem:

A *Warrant* to the Magistrates of Harlem for the Prohibition of the sale of Strong Liquors to Indians.

Whereas: I am informed of several abuses that are done and committed by the

Indians, occasioned much through the liberty some persons take of selling Strong Liquors unto them;

These are to require you, that you take especial care that none of your Town presums to sell any Sort of Strong Liquors, or Strong Beer, unto any Indian, and if you shall find any person offending therein, that you seize upon such Liquor and bring such person before me, to make answer for the offense.

Given under my hand, at Fort James in New York, this 18th of March, 1664, (1665. New Style). Richard Nicolls."

Governor Nicolls, on October 11, 1667, issued to the growing township of New Haerlem, a charter, which, entirely ignoring any of the rights or claims of the aboriginal owners, granted to the new community the entire area of Upper Manhattan, northward from a line drawn across the island, from 74th Street at the East River, to 130th Street at the Hudson, with "all the soils, creeks, quarries, woods, meadows, pastures, marshes, waters, lakes, fishing, hawking, hunting, and fowling. . . and freedom of commonage for range and feed of cattle and horses further west into the woods, upon this Island as well without as within their bounds and limits."

This charter further empowered the town to establish a ferry, at 125th Street, to the Bronx, and authority was later given, in order to divert the traffic to the ferry, that the road to Spuyten Duyvil should be stopped up. This course was pursued, and fences were built for the purpose, but the growing number of travelers to and from the Westchester side, found the tolls of the ferry excessive, and continued to drive their cattle and horses through the "wading place" at Kingsbridge, a shallow place still traceable at 230th Street. So persistent was the public in preferring its own line of travel, that in 1668, a change of policy was decided upon, and preparations were made for removing the ferry to Kingsbridge. Johannes Verveelen, the ferry-man, was, in 1669, authorized to establish the ferry there, and was further given a grant of all or great part of Papparinemin (Marble Hill) and of land on the Kingsbridge side, on the latter of which he proceeded to erect a habitation for himself, and for the accommodation of travellers, probably on the site of the later hostelry, which occupied the site of the Macomb house, still standing at 230th Street, and in 1670, he commenced, as part of his agreements required, the making of a bridge, "over the marsh between Papparinemin and Fordham."

At the latter locality, an enterprising proprietor, John Arcer (later known as Archer) had established a community of settlers.

The Wick-quas-keeks, though many of them had been "beaten off by the Maques," from their resort at Inwood and Westchester County, and were mostly at this time, in hiding in the wild forests of the Ramapo, still from time to time, reasserted their rights to the Harlem lands. Rechewack,

the sachem who in 1639, had been party to the sale of Morrisania to Bronck, was still insistent on his claim to the old haunt of his particular clan, upon Rechwa's or Montagnes' point, and in order to quiet this claim, Jan la Montagne made a bargain with him, by which, for some consideration not stated, he secured the acknowledgment of its sale to him, as follows: —

1669.

"On this date, 20th August, old style, the underwritten Indians (willden) have sold to me, Jan la Montagne, the Point named Rechwanis, bounded between two creeks and hills, and behind, a stream which runs to Montagne's Flat, with the meadows from the bend of the Helle-gat to Konaande Kongh

Sellers of the Point	{	Rechkewacken	}	Tappan
		Achwaarowes		
		Sacharoch		
		Pasach keeginc		
		Niepenchan		
		Kouhamwen		
		Kottaren		

This was by no means all of the Indian claim. On April 9, 1670, when several Sachems were concluding a deal with Governor Lovelace, for the sale of Staten Island, "some of the Indians present laid claim to the land by Harlem," and repudiated, when it was exhibited to them, the deed, of 1626, or its effect. Some of those who signed Montagne's deed, just recited, also became parties to another sale of lands along the east shore of the Harlem, as far as "Bronxland," by which their proprietorship in that borough was recognized to have been still existent.

In 1673, the Dutch re-captured New York, a short-lived triumph for in 1674, Sir Edmund Andros arrived with the news of the cession of the Colony to England, and the Harlem township settled down under British rule which continued until the end of the Revolution.

In 1675, the disquieting news arrived of the great outbreak of the Narragansett Indians, under King Philip, and as a precaution, some of our local Sachems were invited to an interview for the purpose of securing the continuance of their friendship and neutrality. As a further precautionary measure, in the fall of that year, orders were issued that the canoes of Indians along the Westchester shores of the Sound, should be laid up where they could not be used, and the Wick-quas-keeks at their summer haunt on Pelham Neck, then known as Ann's hook, were directed "to remove within a fortnight to their usual winter quarters within Hellgate upon this island."

"This winter retreat," says Riker, "was either the woodlands between Harlem Plains and Kingsbridge at that date still claimed by these Indians as hunting grounds, or Rechewanen on the Bay of Hellgate."

We have seen, however, that they had already definitely parted with Rechewane's point.

Thus, the winter retreat, of which we now know more particularly, was no doubt the Inwood resort, and the rock-shelters in Cold Spring Hollow. That this was the case, seems also to follow from the action of the Indians referred to, who in obedience to this order and their usual habits, attempted to pass up the Harlem River in their canoes, stating that they were going to "Wickers Creek." They were stopped by the local force of watchmen or militia, under the direction of Town-constable Demarest, who, in reporting his action to the Governor, received from him a reply as follows:

"Mr. Constable:

I have just now seen, by your of this day sent express by Wm. Palmer, of your having stopt 10 or 12 Indian canoes, with women, children, corn and baggage, coming as they say from Westchester, and going to Wickers-creek, but not any Pass mentioned; So that you have done very well in stopping the said Indians and giving notice thereof.

There are now to order all the said Indians to stay in your Town, and that you send some of the chiefest of them to me early to-morrow, and one of your overseers for further orders; and that it may be better effected, you are to order them some convenient house or barn to be in, and draw up their canoes until the return of them you shall send; and that you double your watch.

Your loving Friend,

E. Andros.

N. York, October the 21, 1675.

These unwelcome guests were soon permitted to pass on, but the distrust of their actions continued, and a close watch appears to have been kept upon their movements.

On Jan. 7, 1676, however, some eighteen members of the tribe, headed by one known as "Claes, the Indian,"¹ voluntarily visited the Governor, assuring him of their friendship, by word of mouth, confirmed by a present of venison and deer skins, and asking for protection against their fellow redskins. The Governor promised them all the help in his power, and offered them a present of "coates, but they desired drink, which is ordered for them." The natives thereupon shrewdly seized the opportunity to demand official permission for cultivating their old maize lands on Manhattan Island, which they would have to leave again the next spring if they were compelled then to remove to their summer haunts at Ann-hook, and their request being brought formally before the Council, it was: —

¹ Claes or Claus De Wilt (Willden Indians) was also described as Longe Clause or Claes, and as a "native Indian." With a squaw, named Kara-cap-a-co-mont, he entered into a deed in 1707, confirming the title to the Van Cortlandt lands at Kingsbridge.

"Resolved, That the Wickers-creek Indians, if they desire it, be admitted with their wives and children, to plant upon this Island, but nowhere else, if they remove, and that it be upon the north point of the Island near Spuyten Duyvil."

This must have referred to the planting field, to which reference has been made, at Seaman Avenue and Isham Avenue, and the grudging permission evidently conceded to some extent, the Indian's claim to that locality.

The tribe proved the sincerity of their profession of friendship, and the defeat of King Philip and his warriors in August of 1676, brought greater sense of security to the colony, and evidently a less regard for the Indians and their claims, so that in 1677, the free-holders of New Haerlem began to divide up between themselves available common lands included in the wide terms of their Charter.

First they surveyed, and then divided up Marble Hill and the remainder of the Matthys Jansen property down to the line of 211th Street, staking the property off in five allotments, which were "given out by lot." These fell to Vermilje, Boch, Nagel, and Dyckman, the two latter of whom purchased the shares of the others, and thus formed the tract which afterwards became the Nagel farm.

Of this property they made a lease to Hendrick Kiersen and Michael Bastidensen, conditioned upon their planting sundry apple and pear trees yearly, and for the first seven years as an acknowledgment of title, a quit rent of "each one hen every year." The same two owners subsequently acquired the Jansen and Aertsen tract, or Round Meadow, being all lands between 211th Street and Dyckman Street, and east of the present Broadway to the Harlem River, with the exception of some patches of meadow land, already granted to other owners, Myndert Iouriaen, and Pierre Cresson.

October 26, 1677, the long-abandoned home of Tobias Teunissen, was thus again the scene of the White man's husbandry, and the natives again found their home locality invaded by the White settler. No attempt has been made, however, so far, to till or to allot lands lying around Inwood hill, nor in the wild woods of Washington Heights, which the wolves and other wild creatures still infested.

By official command, Aug. 1, 1685, Governor Dongan, granted "liberty and licence" to any of the inhabitants "to hunt and destroy the said wolves," and a general foray resulted in wiping out the dangerous creatures, which had shared with the Red Man the actual possession of Washington Heights.

The desire to increase the town revenues, and to extend the area of available cultivable lands, led the township authorities to appropriate the Indian clearing known as the great Maize Land, south of 181st Street, lying, probably, west of the trail, which is now the course of Broadway.

Jan Kiersen, who may have vacated the rather dangerous lease of Nagel's lands at 211th Street, undertook the task with his father-in-law, Captain Jan Gerritsen Van Dalsen, and the town entered, March 30, 1686, into a lease of "The great Maize Land, belonging under the jurisdiction of New Haerlem," for a period of twelve years, the first seven, at the rent of a fat capon yearly, and the last five, at two hundred guilders in good wheat, rye, peas, or barley, at the market price; "from each parcel the just fourth to be given to God the Lord."

The lease, rather than the partition or the sale, of this Indian planting ground, may have been due to a recognition of the lack of moral if not of actual warrant for its appropriation from its original owners, who, now that their right of planting was restricted to the north end of the island, were no longer able to continue the use of the 181st Street tract.

James, Duke of York, and proprietor of Manhattan, became James II., king, in 1685, and his representative, Governor Dongan, looking out for an increase in the emoluments of the Colony, now asserted his intention to appropriate all common lands not yet purchased of the Indians, which could be construed as belonging to the King, who was not to be regarded as bounden by his own acts as Duke.

A new Charter was therefore solicited by the Harlem settlers, and was issued on March 7, 1686, under terms of a new quit rent. Once again, then, was confirmed to the free-holders of New Harlem, their heirs, and assigns, all lands included in the original area, without any reference to, or regard for, the claims or unextinguished title of the aborigines.

The woodlands of Washington Heights were as yet unbroken from Manhattanville to the Creek, except by the road which wound its way up the line of the old Kings Bridge road, now St. Nicholas Avenue, and of Broadway to the Inwood flat-lands, on which the Nagel and Dyckman meadows were partly opened to cultivation.

The time, however, had come when the townspeople realized that a final adjustment must be made with the Indians, or their charter rights would stand a good chance of being affected, so on February 28, 1688, Colonel Stephen Van Cortlandt, acting on behalf of the town of New Harlem, delivered to the representatives of the Wick-quas-keeks, "Sundries" in exchange for their surrender of their entire claims, with a cash or "Sundry" balance to be paid to them later. This full settlement was not effected, by reason of the negligence or poverty of the townspeople, until March 1, 1715, when a special tax was levied for the purpose, and the amount thus raised, we must suppose, was paid to the dwindling remnant of the tribe.

Thus passed away the native ownership of Washington Heights, and their occupation of the primeval homes, fields and fisheries of the Red Man

on our Island. Scattered over their one-time busy village sites, and around the wide mounds of shells, the traces of many a generation of occupancy lay abandoned, till the plough of their supplanters, or the veil of growing vegetation hid them from sight. Below the sods of the Nagel farm and along the bank of the Harlem, the remains of tribal ceremonies and the treasured pottery of the squaws, lay concealed. Over these grazed the cattle of the Colonial farmers, and among them were buried the dead of the colonists and of their slaves. The tide of Revolutionary warfare swept over the scene, and for seven long years thereafter, the armies of Britain and Hesse-Cassel camped around and upon the vestiges of neolithic man, yet failed to discover or disturb them, and thus two hundred years elapsed before the inquisitive antiquarian, prying into the shell heaps, and among the rocks of Inwood, re-discovered the home and unearthed the bones, the débris, the pottery and implements of the long-forgotten Wick-quas-keek.



A SHELL PIT ON SEAMAN AVENUE.

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THE CORE OF A SHELL PIT.

(Page 90).



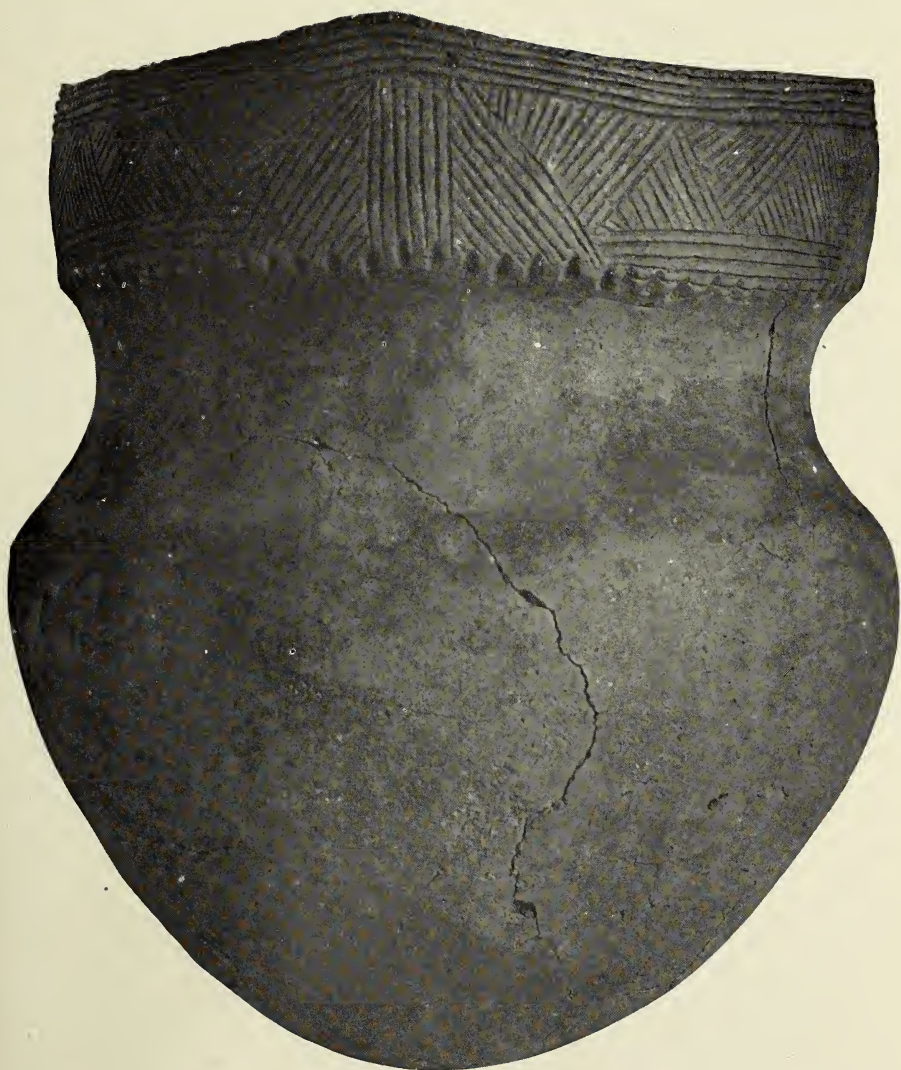
A CUT ON SEAMAN AVENUE SHOWING RELIC-BEARING STRATA.

(Page 86)

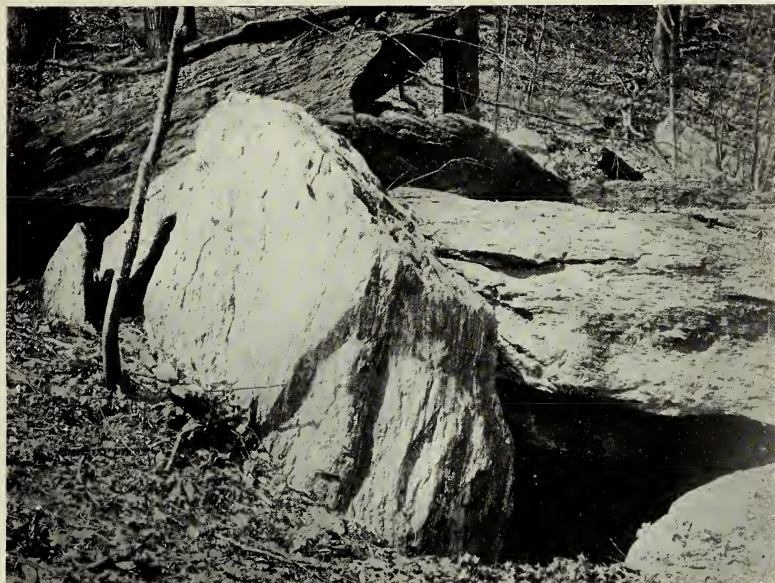


UNCOVERING AN INDIAN POT AT 214TH STREET AND TENTH AVENUE.

(Page 88)



A POTTERY VESSEL FOUND AT 214TH STREET AND TENTH AVENUE.



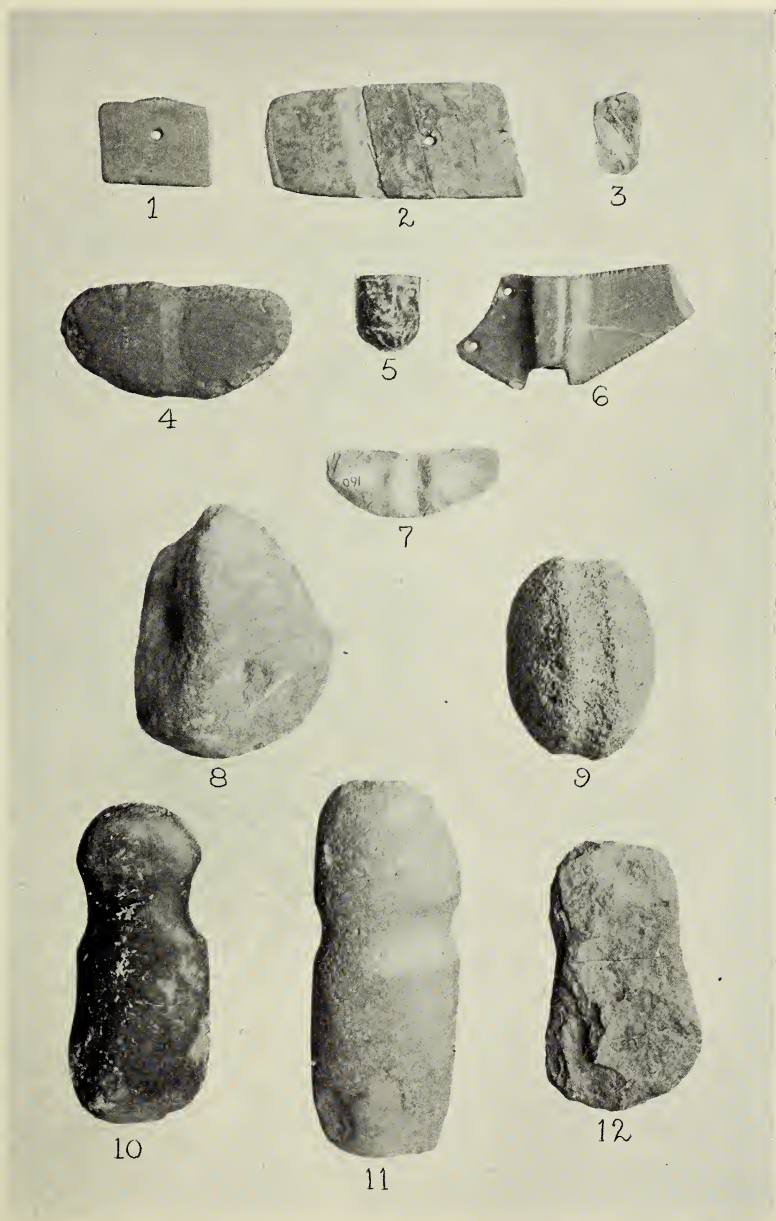
INWOOD ROCK-SHELTER, MANHATTAN.

(Page 84)



AN INDIAN BURIAL ON SEAMAN AVENUE.

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RELICS FROM MANHATTAN ISLAND.

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